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Portsmouth Borough Gaol in the Nineteenth Century

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PORTSMOUTH BOROUGH GAOL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Pat Thompson

Description of the building

Portsmouth Borough Gaol was opened in 1808. It was situated at the top end of Penny Street close to the barracks which are now the Portsmouth Grammar School. The total cost was £13,727 of which £1,500 was for the site and buildings then existing from Sir John Carter, and the money raised by a levy on the rates, in 1805 this being 6*d*. in £1. A description of it, written some four years after its opening, was written by James Neild, a disciple of John Howard, the great eighteenth-century campaigner for prison reform.

> '. . . This modern structure . . . extends 160 feet in front. It has four courtyards with a dayroom in each. The entrance which is in the centre leads to a Hall about 11 feet square; on the right of which is the Gaoler's Office, and on the left, a room for the Turnkey.
>
> From the Hall is a staircase to the chamber-storey and common to all the upper apartments of the building. On each side of the Hall is a lobby or passage, 3 feet wide, leading to the Men Felon's Courtyard which is 60 feet by 27; also to the courtyard of Men Debtors, and of those committed for slight misdemeanours, which is 54 feet by 24. To each of the above courtyards belong ten sleeping cells; five on the ground floor, of 9 feet by 6 and 12 feet high to the crown of the arch, opening into the passages before mentioned; and five above of the same dimensions.
>
> Returning to the Hall of entrance, there is, by the side of the staircase, a passage leading to the courtyards of the female-Debtors and female-Felons, and also to the Gaoler's sitting rooms. And on each side of the passage is a room for prisoners before examination with fire places and glazed windows in each. The courtyard for female felons is 46 feet by 20 in which there is a storeroom, and sixteen sleeping cells; eight on the ground floor of 9 feet by 6, lighted and ventilated by opposite windows, 2 feet in diameter; and eight above of the same size, all opening on to passages 4 feet wide.
>
> The Female Debtors courtyard is 31 feet by 26, with a sleeping room on the ground floor; adjoining to which are two dayrooms and two sleeping cells for the better sort of Criminal Prisoners, opening into a passage 4 feet wide and common to both sexes. For the last-mentioned class of prisoner there is no courtyard, but the Female-Criminals are occasionally allowed the use of the Woman-Debtor's courtyard, and the Male-Criminals that of the Men-Debtors.
>
> The Keeper's parlour and kitchen are at the back part of the Prison, and open into a hall or passage, which communicates with St Nicholas Street. His sleeping rooms are over the Turnkey's apartment, and the Men-Felon's dayroom is on the front of the building. The above apartments of the Keeper afford scarcely any command either of the courtyards or of the Prison apartments. The plan, indeed, is not a good one; and care must be taken to keep the cells clean, for otherwise the Prison cannot be healthy.
>
> The courtyards above mentioned are laid down with gravel. In each of them are a pump and a sewer; and in the Men-Felons is also a bath, with a copper for heating the water.
>
> On the chamber-storey is the Sessions House, for the trial of prisoners; and adjoining to it a room for the Grand Jury, an Office for the Clerk of the Peace, and a Record-room. Also two sleeping rooms for Men-Debtors and two Infirmary rooms for the sick; with boarded floors, fireplaces and glazed windows to each. All the cells, passages and dayrooms on the ground and chamber floors are boarded; and the cells are fitted with a mat, blanket and coverlet to each.'[1]

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Gaols

Before the seventeenth century, imprisonment in a gaol was not used as a punishment, for which death, mutilation, whipping or fines were employed, but as a means of securing the suspect to await trial and the convicted to await his fate. However, by the time of the Industrial Revolution, imprisonment had become the chief form of punishment, even when transportation was at its height, but rarely were prisons built especially for the purpose, anything from a dungeon to a public house being used. The premises were often shared with Houses of Correction; institutions which were set up under the Elizabethan Poor Law to instil habits of work into vagrants and prostitutes, and which were, by the eighteenth century virtually indistinguishable from gaols. Gaols and Houses of Correction were hired out by local authorities to private individuals as profit-making enterprises. This was the source of most of the abuses prevalent since it was in the gaoler's interests to make the prison as comfortable as possible for those able to pay for the privileges of superior accommodation and facilities. It was because of the natural unwillingness of the gaoler to incur expense that conditions – the lack of food, water, clothing and warmth, the use of irons instead of 'turnkeys' i.e. warders, the promiscuous mingling of sexes,

young and old, sick and healthy – could be so appalling. Charges were made on the admission and discharge of prisoners, who could be detained for debt if they were unable to pay, and where any allowance of bread was made for the prisoners from the rates, it could be manipulated to the gaoler's advantage. Those entering gaol would find themselves paying 'garnish' to supply the community with alcohol; failure to do so would oblige them to 'run the gauntlet'.

It was not until John Howard appeared on the late eighteenth-century scene that agitation for prison reform gained any momentum, but twenty years after his death, nine-tenths of the gaols remained as they had been in his day. However, James Neild undertook the same type of investigation as Howard, and Elizabeth Fry began her work in Newgate in 1816. By that date, there had been advanced various ideas for the reformation of gaols – salaried gaolers, the provision of useful employment, the appointment of chaplains and three different types of regime known as Classification, the Separate System and the Silent System. Classification entailed the provision of separate sleeping cells with dayrooms and workrooms provided for the prisoners who were classified into groups according to their crime and sex. The other two, which had originated in the United States, attempted to avoid the 'contamination' which was believed to occur when prisoners associated. The Silent System adopted separation at night and work with others during the day but the strict silence which it demanded required a great number of staff for it to be enforced. Under the Solitary System, prisoners never left their individual cells, were given no work to do and received sustenance and sermons through a grating so arranged that they had no face-to-face contact at all. It was argued:

> 'The prisoner, being separated from his former associates, ceases to think as they think, has time for recollection and repentance; and seclusion will often humble the most haughty and often reform the most abandoned.'[2]

The resulting insanity and suicide discredited the method in England where it was adapted into the Separate System whereby a prisoner slept, exercised and worked in isolation but received daily visits from the governor, chaplain and warder.

Portsmouth's first Gaol

The first known reference to a gaol in Portsmouth occurs in the Corporation Records of 1569. Known as the 'Whitehouse', it stood in the High Street between buildings that were, in the early nineteenth century, the Vicarage and the Crown Inn. It was sold in 1805 for £1,000 and a hotel built upon the site:

> 'With Hotel Clarence where once stood
> The White-house strong in gloomy mood
> But when some wag was heard to declare
> Its likeness to the August Heir
> Of England's Throne, being next to the Crown,
> The Corporation broker knocked it down.
> Then rose a prison vast and strong,
> In Penny Street, from whence a throng
> Of genuine patriots oft are sent
> To the Antarctic Continent.'[3]

The outer appearance of the Whitehouse resembled that of a dwelling house and it possessed 'tenements' at the front and, at the rear, a courtyard in which were situated a pump and a dungeon. That it was also a House of Correction is indicated by a reference to its 'ponechment of vagabons and other offenders.'[4] John Howard visited the Whitehouse in 1775 and recorded in his *State of the Prisons* that, in one of the large rooms, debtors and felons lodged together and the upper rooms were used by female prisoners. The fee on committal, among the most expensive in the country, was 15*s.* 10*d.*, of which 3*s.* 6*d.* was paid to the Town Clerk. The gaoler received no salary but held a licence for the sale of beer and wine. No bedding or even straw was provided, and while felons received 4*d.* a day on which to live, debtors received nothing. Possibly neither did those awaiting trial for whom their delay could be onerous:

> '. . . in the time since your worship had the last letters but wothout dought you are not insenseble at what dayly expence I am atte, besides my money is almost exhausted and I must certainely ly here and perish if your worship does not discharge me, likewise my horse will eate his head ofe lying at the charges he doth; so that att last I must be ruined all manner of ways. . . .'[5]

On his second visit, some eleven years later, Howard found a few alterations had taken place; it was cleaner than formerly, the allowance to felons was a twopenny loaf and a penny (presumably per day) and the gaoler received £60 p.a. in lieu of his liquor licence. However, the number of inmates had increased and there was now no separation between men and women.[6]

In 1802, there appeared two conflicting reports on the Whitehouse. An anonymous writer in his *History of Portsmouth* assured his readers that, while the inmates were

guilty of 'lawless outrage, immoral licentiousness and profligacy', the gaoler, Luscombe, deserved praise for his activity and humanity. The same book states that the prison was well-secured – it had an iron railing separating it from the pavement – and that it afforded every possible comfort to its temporary inmates. In the same year, James Neild referred to it as 'this wretched gaol', observing that the courtyard, measuring fifteen yards by five, served all descriptions of prisoner. He noted that four male debtors were interred for non-payment of a fine to the Crown, and remarked that under these circumstances there was little chance of their ever being liberated as there was no determinate period of imprisonment for this offence, and that they received no allowance at all. However pauper debtors were now given sixpence a day, coals and a hammock with straw sacking, and there was a separate dayroom for female felons and a sleeping room for female debtors. There were also five bedrooms which debtors could hire for 4*d.* a night.[7]

Conduct of the Borough Gaol

Portsmouth was one of the sixteen towns in England and Wales which built a new gaol between 1779 and 1810, probably less because of the inadequacies of the Whitehouse than the fact that the war with France doubled the number of those committed there. Whereas in 1803 the annual number of committals had been 625, in 1804 it rose to 1,187, many of these being naval deserters and 'disorderly women'. While a great improvement on conditions in many prisons of the period, the Borough Gaol in Penny Street was not fully in accordance with contemporary principles of reform. It possessed a few double and treble sleeping cells and had no provision for workshops nor separate apartments for unconvicted prisoners. In 1812 fees were still being charged with debtors now paying 3*s.* 4*d.* on admission and 6*s.* 2*d.* on discharge, and Neild commented:

> '. . . a Gaoler aught never to *farm* his prisoners per head, nor be in any way interested in the means or manner of their support. He should be excluded from all concern in the Prisoners' allowance; from all possibility of profit arising from the sale of their bread or other food. . . . too much cannot be said upon a subject like this, for a fortune, thus acquired, must have been drawn from the bowels of misery'.[8]

From this it appears that the 7*d.* a day which the Gaoler, now on a salary of £80 p.a., received from the Borough was not always spent on the official allowance. This was a 3*d.* loaf per day (about 48oz.) and a pound of meat and vegetables and 7*d.* a week, with coals for the dayrooms provided. By 1818, the allowance had been altered to 21oz. bread and 1*s.* 1*d.* a week, a person attending prison twice a day to make any purchase the prisoners might require. But again, debtors were without an allowance and had to rely on the charity of their friends or of the gaoler.

Although, in 1821, the gaoler was stated to receive no fees, there were rooms available for debtors who required superior quarters, and there is evidence to suggest that fees on committal continued into the thirties. 'Garnish' was still practised, although there was no tap actually within the prison, but bed and bedclothes were now provided and the prisoners were not kept in irons. Although they were required to wash every morning, no soap or towels were provided, and although there was a bath, its use was not compulsory. In 1809 a letter had been sent to Lord Grey requesting that condemned stores from the Dockyard, particularly junk, old stays and standing rigging, be set aside during auctions to be later purchased for the prisoners to work on, and oakum had been picked during the Napoleonic wars. But after three years of peace there was no employment and consequently prisoners were allowed to do as they pleased during the day, with no rule of silence except at night. However, as they were locked in their cells without candles from sunset to 6 a.m. or 7.30 a.m., it is hardly surprising that they were said to while away time by talking loudly between cells.[9] Thus, although new, Portsmouth gaol was a long way from adopting all the reformative ideals which came to apparent fruition in the Gaol Act of 1823.

This Act had a definite bias towards prisons as places for reformation rather than revenge. Many of Howard's principles were incorporated and classification was to be between sexes, debtors, unconvicted and convicted felons, convicted and unconvicted misdemeanants (†), and vagrants. Each group was to work in association to raise a profit towards their maintenance. However, the advocates of the Silent System and Separate System were by no means silenced, and confusion reigned in the administration of English gaols for the next thirty years. There was difficulty in the reconciliation of the aims of safe custody, healthy maintenance of the prisoner, deterrence, reformation and reduction of the cost to local communities. In addition, the flaw of the 1823 Act was that of every piece of early penal legislation – it gave no power to the Government to enforce its sanctions but left the onus upon the

†Originally, felonies were crimes punishable by death, misdemeanours being the name for minor offences, but with the substitution of milder punishments, the distinction became a source of confusion. In many cases, punishment for misdemeanours was as severe as that for felonies.

local magistrates. Moreover, it applied only to a small proportion of gaols in the country. Portsmouth, for no apparent reason, was one of these; local officials believed that it was due to the large numbers of smugglers from a wide area that were confined there and were not pleased at their inclusion.

In fact, the Act made little difference to the gaol, the exceptions being the regular visits now paid by the Justices of the Peace and the keeping of journals by gaol officials. The diet was also altered; from 1822–1832 the allowances were as follows: convicted and unconvicted felons and misdemeanants alike received 20⅓ oz bread daily, but unconvicted felons received 1lb meat and one basin of soup weekly; convicted felons ¾lb meat made into soup weekly; unconvicted misdemeanants 1lb meat, 8lb potatoes and one basin of soup weekly; convicted misdemeanants 1lb meat weekly.[10] A possible reason for the alteration was the wish of the Justices to deter people flocking into gaol during the winter of 1822/3 when the poor of Portsmouth were greatly distressed, many actually starving from want.

In 1831, the east wing of the prison was added on the site of demolished almshouses and consisted of twelve cells capable of holding sixteen prisoners, three dayrooms and three yards. There was still insufficient accommodation to comply fully with the 1823 Act but no further enlargement was possible because of the state of the Borough Treasury. Prisoners' wards were now classified thus (i) debtors, smugglers and misdemeanants not sentenced to hard labour (ii) misdemeanants sentenced to hard labour and soldiers under punishment for breaches of military discipline (iii) felons and untried prisoners (iv) vagrants and untried prisoners. There were three female wards, one for debtors and the other two similar to (iii) and (iv) of the men.[11] This did not meet with any system of official classification. The apparently odd mixture of felons, vagrants and untried prisoners in wards (iii) and (iv) was, no doubt, to counteract the criticism that classification was useless in preventing 'contamination' with, for example, the possibility of an untried prisoner being a persistent recidivist or an innocent man, since at Portsmouth the prisoners were distributed according to their character.

Ten years after the passing of the Act, classification was out of favour for the reform it signified appeared to be making prisons too attractive, the annual figure of national committals having risen from under 2,000 in Howard's day

The WHITEHOUSE which occupied a site in High Street between the George Hotel and the junction with Pembroke Road. From an early nineteenth-century watercolour.
Portsmouth City Museums

to almost nine times that amount. Also, the inability or unwillingness of Justices to cope with change in prison administration had led to a situation whereby the treatment a prisoner received was dependent, not upon his crime, but the locality in which it took place. In 1835, the Whig ministry acted decisively by appointing Inspectors of Prisons who, although without powers of direct intervention, investigated gaols and reported to the Home Secretary. During the following immediate years they wrote very favourably upon those prisons using the Separate System and the 1839 Gaol Act, advocating isolation, was proof of Parliamentary sanction of this regimen, approval that lasted through the century.

Portsmouth Gaol was not only unable to comply with the Act, because of its design, but any rule of silence was also impossible. On his first visit in 1837, and again in 1839, the Inspector recommended another warder be appointed as the gaoler, since turnkey and matron could not possibly control the sixty or seventy prisoners who talked without restriction once their backs were turned. They were often left unsupervised as, besides accompanying prisoners to other destinations, the gaoler frequently attended the magistrates, and the turnkey answered the door. An additional turnkey was appointed in 1839 and in 1844 a new wing of twenty-two cells and three yards was erected for female prisoners. This gave a separate cell to each and the extra space created in the original buildings allowed the official classification to be introduced among male prisoners. Their cells were still unheated so only during the summer months was it possible to separate the boys from the men. Their isolation was commended by the prison chaplain on the grounds that it removed them from the depraving influences of the adults and that it struck even greater terror into them than the flogging usually administered as part of the court sentence. He arrived at this conclusion both from conversation with the boys and the observation that they deliberately entered the gaol during the winter months when allowed to use the warm dayrooms, a trait they shared with vagrants.[12] By 1839, sentences of transportation passed on children were arousing concern. Reformatories were set up for those under sixteen but there was no obligation for a court to send children there. It was known that, to avoid the detention that lasted between two and five years, children declared themselves to be over sixteen, and that magistrates would pass heavy sentences for a trivial offence to have a child sent to a reformatory. The latter did not happen in Portsmouth where, for example, in 1855, a thirteen year old boy was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment for stealing ginger beer and tobacco and where, during the whole of 1860, only one of the juveniles tried was sent to a reformatory.[13] After the alterations of 1844, all female juvenile prisoners would have undergone the Separate System and although motivated by good intentions, this somewhat cruel regimen would have affected at times, a considerable number of children; for example, the number aged under sixteen incarcerated in 1854 being seventy-eight males and sixteen females.

Overcrowding

By this period, however, it had become increasingly common for men to be sleeping three to a single cell, an arrangement reached by sleeping one man on the bed and two on the floor. Thus, although by 1852, twenty-five cells of the male division were heated, overcrowding was defeating attempts at imposing the Separate System. The maximum number the prison was capable of containing one to a cell was sixty-seven, or with the old double and treble cells full, seventy-nine. The annual number of those committed had risen steadily from 539 in 1818 to 1,431 in 1862, and the greatest number of prisoners held at any one time nearly doubled between 1842, when it was fifty-one males and sixteen females, and 1862 when it was ninety-nine males and thirty-one females.

The overcrowding was not caused by a decrease in the number of sentences of deportation because, as the Australian colonies refused to accept more convicts, penal servitude at a Government penitentiary was substituted. Between 1806 and 1826, the Court of Quarter Sessions at Portsmouth sentenced 134 to transportation and 1,079 to gaol, and between 1844 and 1853, eighty-five to transportation and 753 to gaol. Prisoners also arrived at the gaol via the magistrates and Courts of Summary Jurisdiction in proportionally increasing numbers as changes in the law altered the seriousness of charges. In addition, soldiers, sailors and marines formed a large percentage of the population of the gaol. From 1776 to 1834, criminals were frequently pardoned on condition that they enlisted and the town must have been host, for years afterward, to criminals from other parts of the country. By 1859, the Justices were complaining that the proportion of men from the Armed Forces was excessive, and in the following years, half the total number of prisoners were sailors, soldiers or marines. The Inspector opined that this was no exception to the national trend inasmuch as the increase in the number of the Army and Navy drew a considerable section of the inland population to the garrison towns. When popular feelings against excessive flogging became strong, courts-martial were driven partially to substitute imprisonment for the 'cat', and many civil prisons, including Portsmouth, were obliged to receive large numbers of soldiers. The practice was disapproved of locally, as soldiers were held to be turbulent and troublesome prisoners

Detail from Ordnance Survey 1:500, os83:11:10, 1861
Portsmouth City Records office

but from 1856 offenders against Service discipline were no longer taken.

The Justices believed that the overcrowding was due to both an increase in the population of the Borough and to the circular theory that the lack of discipline, worse than that of any other gaol in the vicinity, acted as an encouragement to the pursuit of crime. In 1862, they reported to the Secretary of State that overcrowding rendered null any sentence of solitary confinement or hard labour, erased any possibility of classification or separation, meant that thirty to forty untried prisoners were herded together in one dayroom for weeks on end, and made any outbreak of illness a serious matter as there were only four infirmary beds. They were advised to make a contract with another gaol to take a proportion of the prisoners. Enquiries were made among the local gaols, the reply from Petworth, an institution of strict discipline, being:

> '. . . we must protect ourselves from certain very obnoxious characters which I am afraid are sometimes to be found in your locality; individuals, for instance, of highly impracticable habits, semi-lunatics if not worse, and useless unprofitable invalids.'[14]

Hard Labour

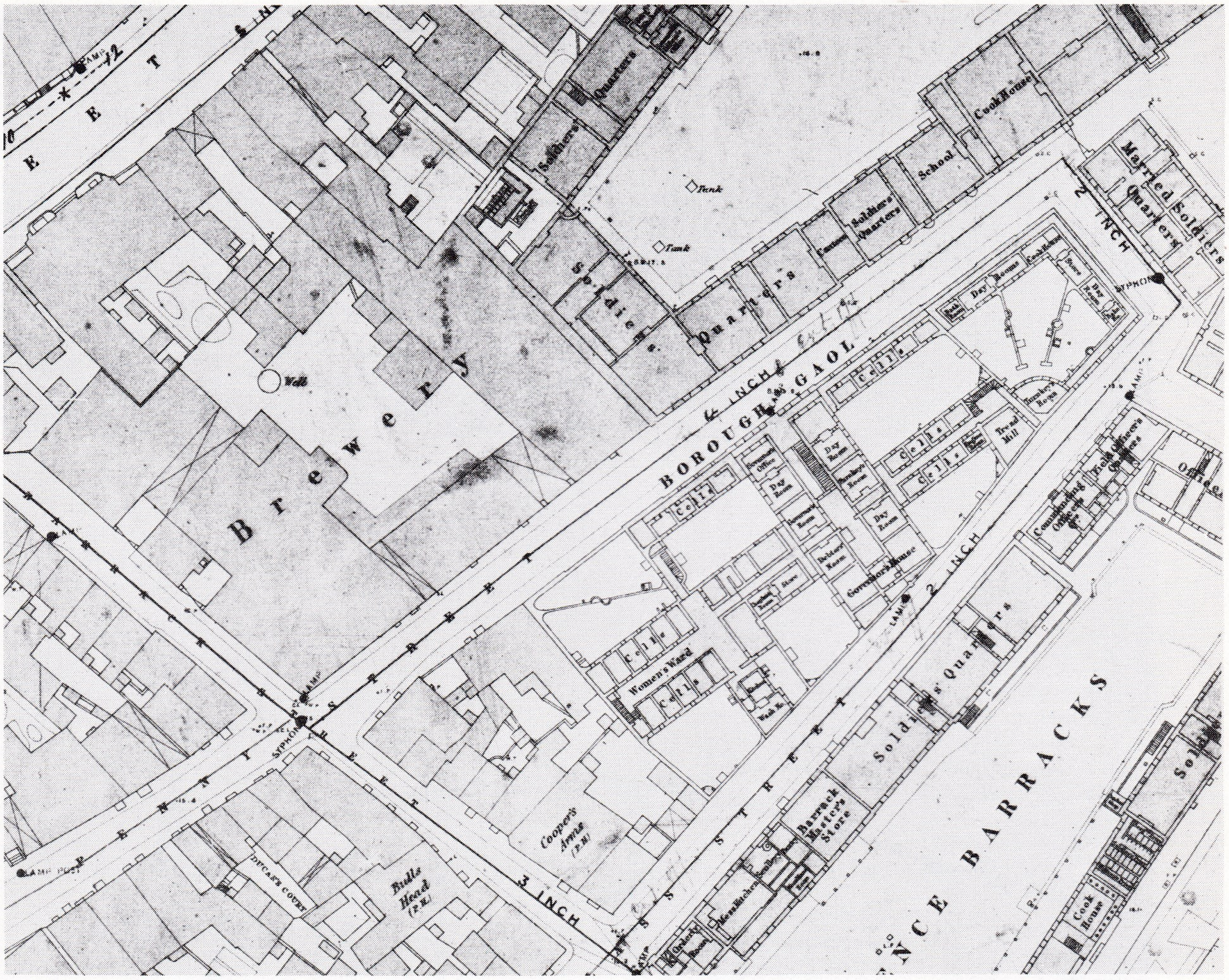
A contract was finally made between Portsmouth and Southampton whereby the latter would take thirty prisoners at ten shillings per week per head although at Portsmouth, the cost at this time was approximately 8*s.* 6*d.* per head. There was now at Portsmouth, separate sleeping accommodation for all prisoners; however, the solution was unsatisfactory but not until 1874 was a replacement for the Penny Street Gaol started at Kingston.

The national attitude towards the purpose of hard labour varied between reformation, deterrence and maintenance. Occupations ranged from the strictly non-productive to those by which as much as £40,000 p.a. could be made in one gaol, and between these two extremes lay every kind of activity. The idea of labour as a deterrent gained ground over the years, it being opined that it should not only be monotonous and severe, but also quite useless, this being more likely to plague the prisoners. Two machines were admirably suited for this purpose – the treadwheel and the crank. The latter was a metal drum with a handle of adjustable pressure, of no purpose except the record of revolutions made, but easily used in separate cells. The treadwheel was a circular staircase where the prisoners held a bar and remained on the same spot as the wheel revolved. The power generated could be used to raise water or grind corn. The Governor of Coldbath Fields Gaol, who readily admitted a reputation for unflinching severity, believed that it could be injurious to the health of many people and that, generally, men were greatly distressed after three months' continuous labour on the wheel.

In 1832, a treadwheel, which occupied about ten men, was erected in Portsmouth gaol, being six feet in diameter, and fourteen feet in length with twenty-six steps. It possessed a pump which raised water for use in the gaol but by 1843 there was a pipe which led from the reservoir back to the well from which the water had originated, so the labour was Sisyphean. The Inspectors recommended nationally that the maximum distance trod daily should be 12,000 feet; at Portsmouth in 1839 the distance was 10,000 and seven years later, this had been reduced to 6,750. The wheel was in use for six hours a day but one half of the men rested while the others trod, a comparatively moderate effort at a time when factory children were working thirteen hours a day. The regulations that no females, juveniles under 14 or prisoners not sentenced to hard labour should be put on the wheel were complied with and there are no recorded instances of illness caused by working on the wheel, which was mostly used by prisoners undergoing short sentences. After the Inspector had condemned the practice of a prisoner supervising labour on the wheel in 1839, a second turnkey was employed for this task, and the Justices hoped that the wheel would be now exceedingly dreaded and produce the most beneficial results. However, by 1850, they had come to believe that labour on the wheel, being carried out in association, was little or no punishment although not until ten years later were partitions put on the wheel to prevent communication.

Debtors, unconvicted prisoners and those not sentenced to hard labour were given no employment, spending their time mostly in associated idleness. If female, they were kept in separate cells after 1844 but could, at their own request, be allowed to clean the prison. The female prisoners sentenced to hard labour either picked oakum or did needlework and domestic duties. The Inspector believed that oakum-picking should be restricted to women and boys kept in separate cells and the Justices considered that, in association, it was no punishment as there was so little supervision and the prisoners enjoyed the freedom of bodily activity. There is no indication of how much oakum was expected to be picked but it was believed that prisoners did less work than free labourers. 3lb oakum was picked daily at Holloway at this period, whereas a free woman had to pick 6lb for a very modest daily wage, and, from the profits made at Portsmouth, it would appear the task was less than onerous.

In 1859, the Inspector recommended that cells be lit by



gas so that prisoners could work in the dark mornings and evenings of winter, but this was not effected, the Justices possibly feeling that three men to a cell left little space for activity. There was a crisis in 1862 when the Dockyard no longer required oakum and the leisureliness of life in the gaol intensified. From 1850 onwards, the timetable in theory ran thus: prisoners were unlocked at seven, breakfast at eight, remained at labour until prayers at ten-thirty; they resumed work until dinner at eleven forty-five, finished at four and were locked in their cells at sunset. Slothfulness could hardly have been avoided by the prisoners with so little work available and although the Justices believed in labour as a deterrent, they were virtually defeated by the difficulties of finding employment, insufficient staff and overcrowding.

Food

Limited success also greeted their efforts to impose their wishes on the diet of the prisoners. In 1843, the Home Secretary issued dietary tables recommended for use in all gaols. These were based on the Inspectors' recommendations that sufficient food should be given at the least possible cost and that there should be three meals a day of which two should be hot. It is believed that these tables were in use in only half the gaols twenty years later and the Portsmouth Justices evaded adoption for some time. They had laid down in 1832 that every prisoner was to receive daily 24oz bread and one pint of oatmeal gruel and ¾oz meat made into soup once a week. By 1839, a weekly addition of 8oz cooked meat had been made and cabbage was added to the soup. After 1845, the dietary table, which made no distinction between classes of prisoner, was as follows:

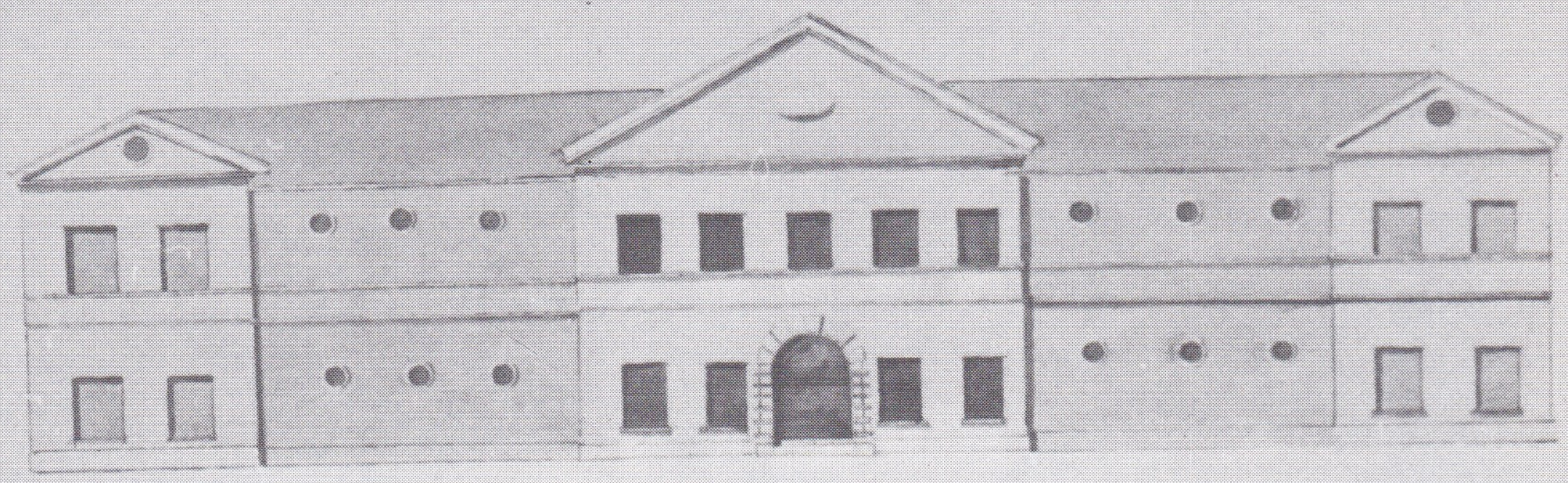
Per week

Bread 168oz
Total solid food 176oz
Meat 8oz

Gruel 14pts
Total liquid food 15pts
Soup 1pt

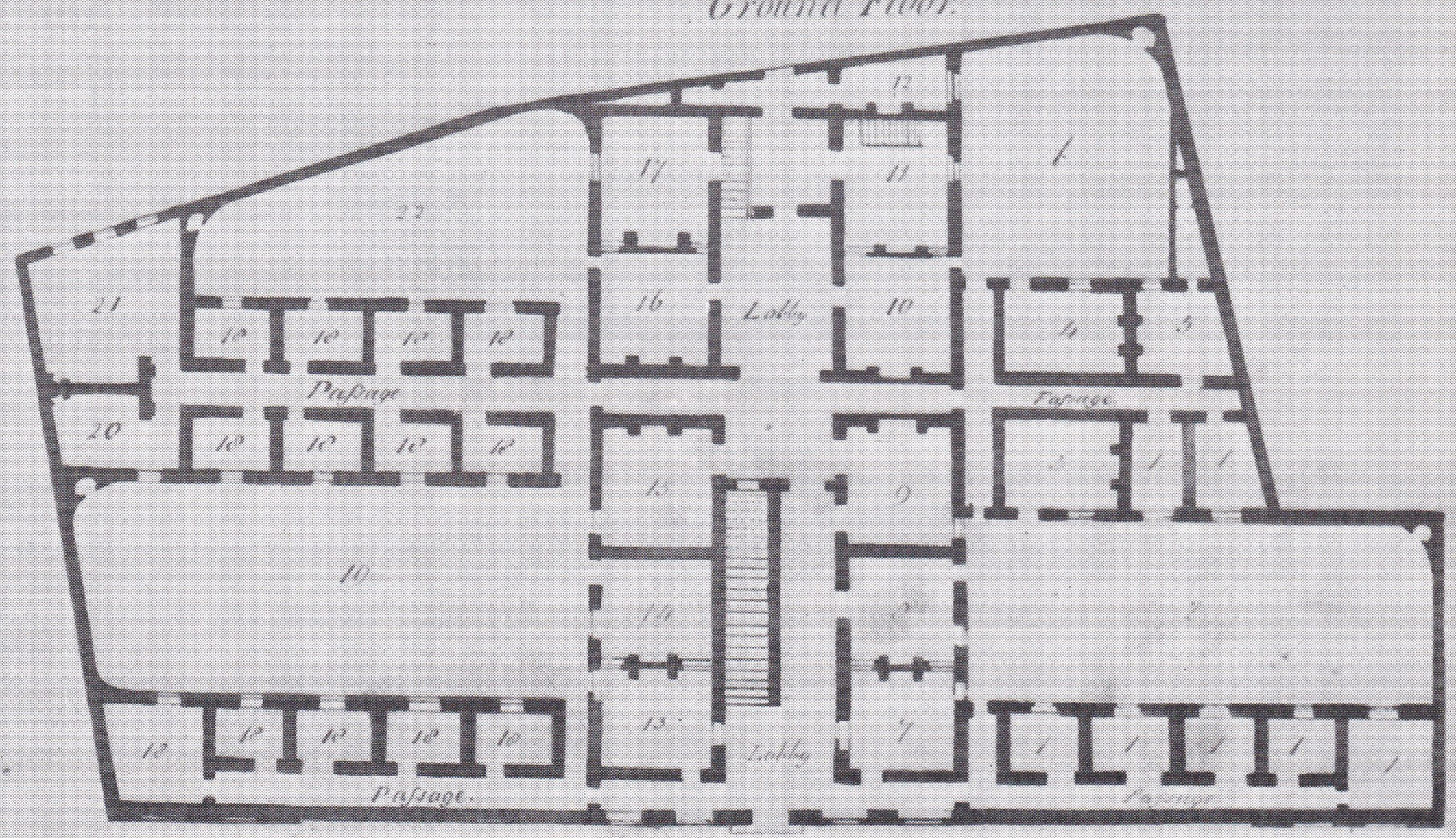
From comparison with the Graham tables, it can be seen that the diet of Portsmouth gaol offered considerably less to long-term prisoners, especially those sentenced to hard

PLAN of PORTS



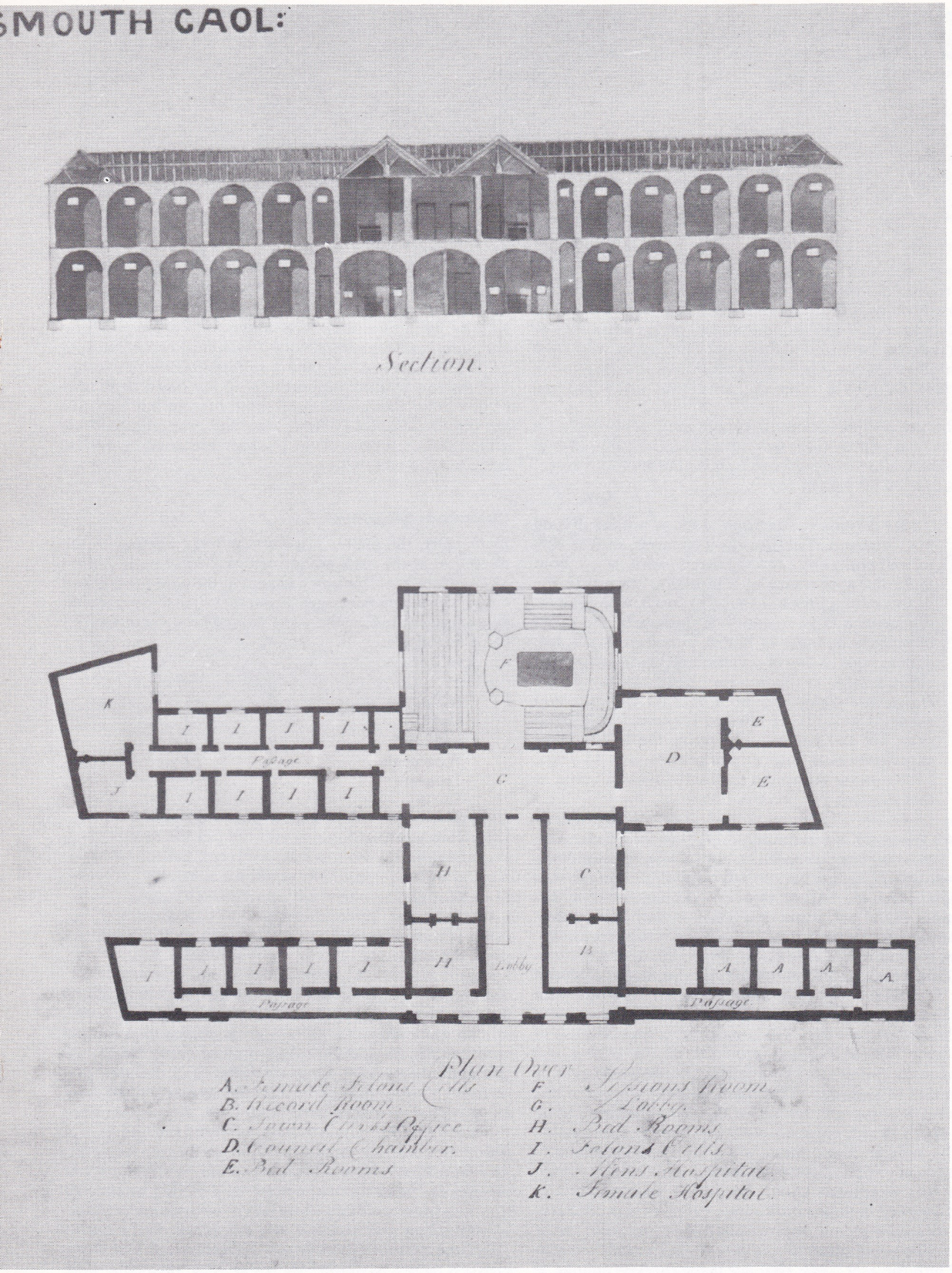
Elevation of Front.

Ground Floor



Ground Plan

1 Debtors Cells
2 Debtors yard
3 Do Day Room.
4 Female Debtors Room
5 Beer Room.
6 Female Debtors yard.
7 Felons Day Room.
8 Misdemeanors Room.
9 Store Room.
10 Female Misdemeanors Room
11 Felons Parlour
12 Do Washhouse.
13 Turnkeys Room.
14 Felons Day room.
15 Felons Bed Room
16 Female Felons Day Room
17 Felons Kitchen
18 Felons Cells
19 Felons yard.
20 Workhouse.
21 Store Room.
22 Female Felons yard.


SMOUTH GAOL:
Section.
Passage
Lobby
Passage
Plan Over
A. Female Felons Cells
B. Record Room
C. Town Clerks Office
D. Council Chamber.
E. Bed Rooms
F. Sessions Room
G. Lobby.
H. Bed Rooms
I. Felons Cells
J. Mens Hospital.
K. Female Hospital.

centre pages:
The Penny Street Gaol. From a copy made by R. H. C. Ubsdell in 1840 from the original plan and elevation
Portsmouth City Museums

labour, but that it held definite advantages to those imprisoned for short periods without hard labour. As for comparison with those prisons which had not adopted the official dietary, it was found that the weekly allowance of meat ranged from zero to 25oz and the total of solid food from 100 to 340oz. The bread and gruel was served in the morning until 1848 when the bread was given in three equal portions.

The prison rules stated that convicted prisoners were not to receive provisions from their friends. That this was not observed is evident from a sight that met an Inspector's eyes on his visit in 1848.

> 'In the felons' . . . . dayroom, I found articles of food not forming part of the prison dietaries, such as butter and pork. The misdemeanants' ward, No. 7, bore more the appearance of a provision store than the dayroom of a prison. I found exposed, without concealment, a large quantity of fresh beef and pork, herrings, a quantity of butter, a large fruit pie, tea, coffee, sugar, a bag of potatoes, apples, a large plum cake, celery, cabbages, two newspapers viz, the *Hampshire Telegraph* of a recent date, a silver watch, a quantity of tobacco concealed in a boot, pens, ink and paper . . . . During the whole of my experience as an Inspector of prisons, now 13 years, I have never witnessed so discreditable a scene as that presented . . . on this occasion.'

Below this entry is a footnote stating that the official dietary had now been adopted, a move which caused the *Hampshire Telegraph* to remark waspishly, 'no-one can complain, as we believe that the Portsmouth one has hitherto been just above starvation point!' Complaints about the superabundance of the official diet peppered the pages of the *Justices' Journal.* In 1850, they sent a letter to the Home Secretary requesting that prisoners in Classes 4 and 5 should be given a more stringent diet but were threatened with a mandamus if they imposed alteration.

The Justices felt they had committed crimes because of the good bed and board provided in the prison and because the prison fare exceeded that of the workhouse or even that of free men. They were possibly correct in this opinion as it was not unusual for the diet of the poor to be principally bread, potatoes and tea. After the introduction of the official tables there was only one complaint of insufficiency of food, although there is good reason to suppose that complaints about the quality were justified as food supplied to public institutions suffered from adulteration to a great extent. Apart from cases of medical necessity, spirits were forbidden, although they could be smuggled into the gaol – one prisoner being careless enough to exhibit intoxicating liquor in the presence of a Visiting Justice in 1849. Tobacco was also forbidden, except to debtors, but that too could be smuggled in. In 1864, those parts of the official dietary of which the Portsmouth Justices approved was described by a medical commission as unattractive and scanty, and a different table drawn up. The Justices took the opportunity to lay down their own dietary table which contained more protein but less carbohydrate than the official one and was regarded as sufficient if the health of the prisoner was good on admittance but not otherwise.

Clothes and Bedclothes

Until 1865, the matter of prison uniform was left to the discretion of the local authorities. At Portsmouth, before 1838, a supply of clothing was kept in the gaol to be issued only if absolutely necessary. From that time a more liberal approach was taken, the issue from Michaelmas 1842–3 being as follows:

	Male	*Female*
Nightcaps	0	39
Daycaps	1	0
Jackets	19	0
Waistcoats	0	0
Trousers	30	0
Shirts	52	0
Stockings	4 prs.	22 prs.
Handkerchiefs	2	15
Shoes	40	25
Clogs	0	0
Gowns	0	13
Petticoats	0	12
Petticoats flannel	0	6
Aprons	0	30

The wearing of their own clothes by the prisoners had two defects. The first was pointed out by the Inspector on his visit in 1848 when he found the dayrooms encumbered with bundles of clothing which offered every facility for the concealment of 'improper articles' and declared that he could not too strongly impress the propriety of clothing all convicted prisoners. Nine years later, the Justices were reminded that worn out clothing increased the difficulty of prisoners obtaining employment on discharge. However, they had probably heard reports from other gaols that prostitutes found the committing of a trifling offence an easy way to obtain a new outfit and so no action was taken.

Bedclothing was also left to the Justices' discretion. In 1818, the prisoners at Portsmouth gaol were given two blankets and a coverlet. By 1838, sick prisoners were

The Graham Dietaries 1843

	Without hard labour				With hard labour			
	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5
Per Week	Less than 7 days	More than 7 and not more than 21 days	More than 21 days and not more than 4 months	More than 4 months	More than 7 and not more than 21 days	More than 21 days and not more than 6 months	More than 6 weeks and not more than 4 months	More than 4 months
	oz	oz	oz	oz	oz	oz	oz	oz
Bread	112	168	140	168	168	140	168	154
Potatoes	—	—	64	32	—	64	32	112
Meat	—	—	6	12	—	6	12	16
Total Solid Food	112	168	210	212	168	210	212	282
	pts	pts	pts	pts	pts	pts	pts	pts
Soup	—	—	2	3	1	2	3	3
Gruel	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	11
Cocoa	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Total Liquid Food	14	14	16	17	15	16	17	17

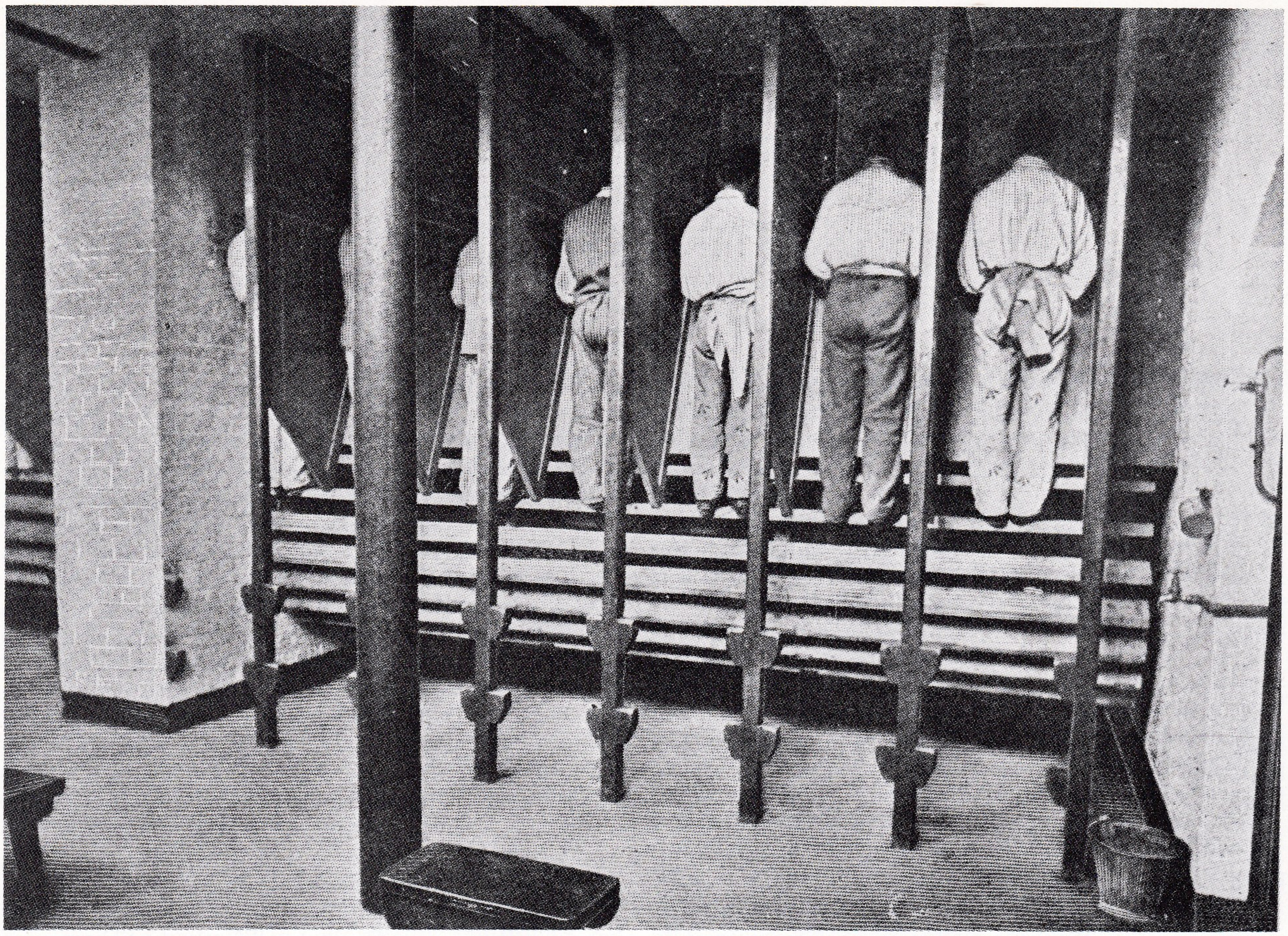
Copied from R. S. E. HINDE *The English Penal System 1773–1951*, Duckworth Press, 1951

allowed sheets on their beds, and twenty years later, the Inspector recommended that all prisoners shared this concession, to avoid contagion and the frequent washing which made the blankets very thin and in 1863 all prisoners did have sheets. There were iron bedsteads with straw mattresses supported by sacking; this sacking was believed to be the breeding place of vermin and replaced by iron bars in 1861.

Health and Medical Care

The vermin no doubt flourished also under the prison rule that the straw and bedding were changed when the surgeon saw fit, in no case longer than two months. In 1857, a stove was provided for destroying vermin in the prisoners' clothing. However, as the prison was always described by the Inspectors as clean, it no doubt provided more hygienic conditions than its inmates were accustomed to when at liberty. Efforts were made to instil personal cleanliness into the prisoners. They had to wash their hands and faces every day under the pump in the yard and the male division contained a bath. All prisoners were to bathe and wash their feet as often as directed by the staff who examined the prisoners' cleanliness every morning one hour after they were unlocked. Towels and combs were provided and a razor for the men to shave twice a week. A pewter chamber utensil was provided for each cell and there were privies in the yard. Lavatory paper was not provided and the Inspector noted during his second visit that its issue would be conducive to health and cleanliness as well as to the preservation of religious books.

A surgeon attended the gaol daily in 1818, receiving the salary of £25 p.a. and buying any medicines necessary, while six years later, another man was appointed receiving £31. 10*s*. 0*d*. p.a. and receiving the cost of the medicine from the Town Council. Julian Slight took over the position in 1843 at the same salary which was raised to £80 p.a. in 1854. In 1818, the most common complaint was



ulcers and ulcerated legs, a state of affairs not confined to Portsmouth gaol and ascribed by the surgeons of the hulk *Captivity* to want of proper care in gaols. In 1837, the predominant illnesses were imported by the prisoners, being the itch, gonorrhoea, syphilis and bowel disorders. During this time, a third of female prisoners were prostitutes and it was estimated that one in ten of the prostitutes admitted had venereal disease, but that for every fifty cases of gonorrhoea, there was only one of syphilis. In 1850, it was stated that venereal cases were much less common than formerly and the health of the prisoners in later years was usually stated to be very good. One surgeon believed that he had met several cases where persons had committed crimes for the purpose of being cured in gaol.

During the influenza epidemic of the winter of 1836/7, the *Hampshire Telegraph* reported that scarcely a family in the neighbourhood had escaped attack, and there were many deaths from this cause, but the gaol had only a few slight cases. Similarly, whereas one in seventy died from cholera in the immediate neighbourhood in 1849, there was no death from this cause in the gaol. Some cases of non-fatal malignant cholera had occurred within the gaol a few years previously and sugar and ginger had been added to the gruel. This luxury was criticised by an Inspector and its efficacy doubted, although numerous similar recipes against infection are given in the *Hampshire Telegraph* at the time, including the simultaneous consumption of gin and gooseberries. In 1849, the Gaoler was directed by the Justices to serve the prisoners 8oz of meat and three-quarters of a pint of soup for three days a week in lieu of their normal allowance because of the cholera epidemic, although the elementary precaution of having incoming prisoners examined by the surgeon was not taken.

Between 1849 and 1865, five complaints were made to the Justices against the surgeon for either unskilful treatment or neglect. The usual course was to examine the surgeon's journal, although in one case where a soldier complained that the surgeon had said there was nothing wrong with him, and he appeared to the Justices to be suffering from syphilis, they sent to the surgeon's home. Fourteen deaths are known to have occurred within the prison between 1832 and 1854 and two between 1863 and 1867. Inquests were held in the gaol and, of the results known, two died of diarrhoea, six of pulmonary complaints of consumption, two of 'natural causes', one from a diseased heart and three from 'the visitation of God'. The causes of death in the gaol followed the national pattern of causes of death in prisons; the pattern of ages during which most deaths occurred in the gaol, i.e. in the 21–30 and 31–45 age brackets, also followed the national trend. Between 1843 and 1862, the ages of those prisoners sen-

The treadmill at Kingston Prison, Portsmouth c1900
Portsmouth City Museums

tenced by the Quarter Sessions at Portsmouth were thus:

under 12	2
12–17	108
17–21	357
21–30	587
30–45	339
45–60	76
over 60	27

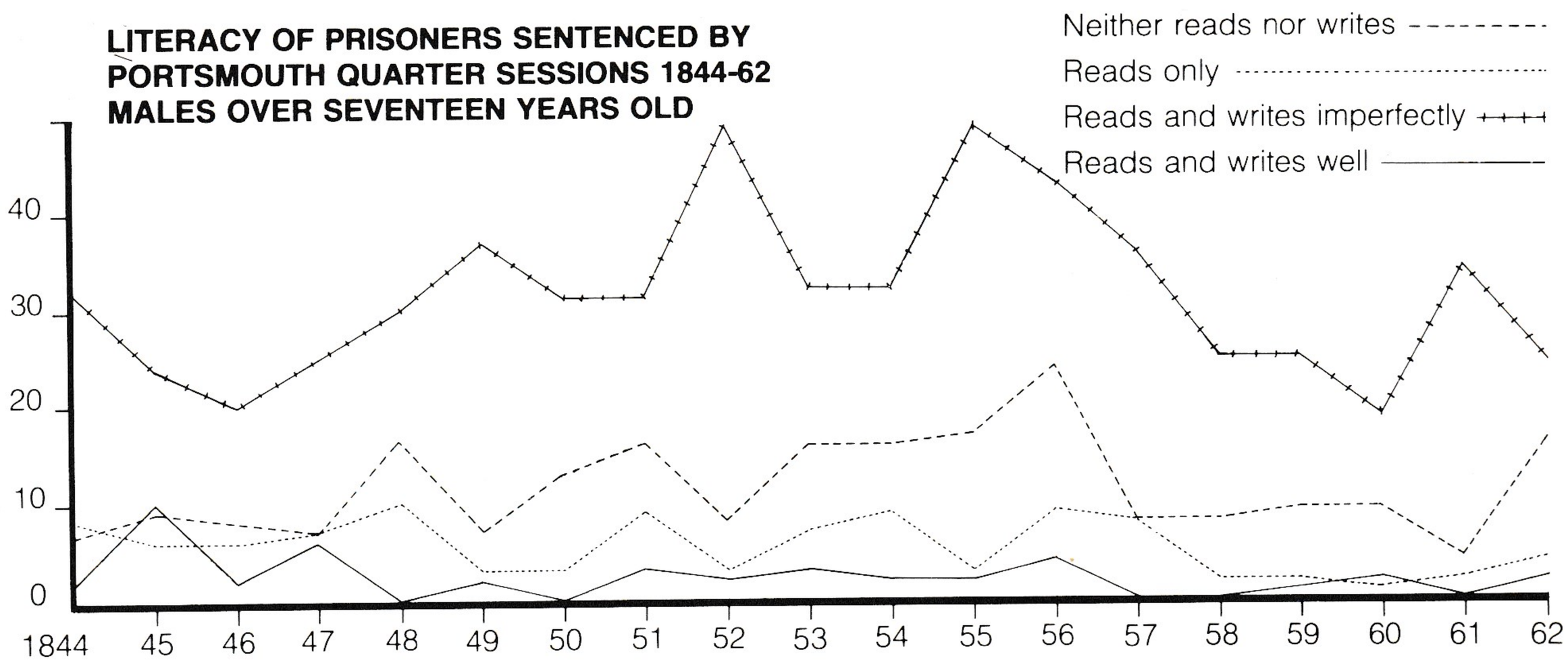
In 1816, the Home Secretary was empowered to remove any insane person from prison to a lunatic asylum; before this date they were incarcerated as the sport or terror of their fellow inmates until they died or were pardoned. This Act was by no means universally enforced as late as 1835. In 1818, violent lunatics at Portsmouth gaol were put in a straightjacket or, if harmless entrusted to the care of some 'steady person'. After 1838, they were sent to various asylums, four prisoners being removed in a twenty-five year period, either to Hampshire County or Portsea Island asylums or, in the case of one man with no ascertainable parish, to Camberwell Asylum with his maintenance paid for by Portsmouth Borough. A sentence could be evaded by a prisoner's removal to an asylum, from which release could be had on restitution of sanity. An apparent attempt at this was made by a man who, in 1850, had just been sentenced to seven years' transportation. Immediately after the sentence was passed, he cut his throat from ear to ear, severing the trachea, but prompt action by the surgeon saved his life. Upon his release from the infirmary, he ran his head violently against the yard wall, but with close observation and a second opinion, the surgeon pronounced the man a 'gross impostor' and he was sent to a penitentiary to await transportation. In fact, many considered that Australia offered convicts a better life than England; an opinion shared by a private who politely told the *Recorder* in 1858 that transportation would suit him just as well as soldiering. There were four other attempts at suicide in the gaol, all by hanging, for which the usual punishment was a few days in handcuffs. One man was suspected of being insane, another of having feigned his suicide actions and a third confessed to having been 'put up to it', although it is quite feasible that an attempt made by a woman sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment in a separate cell was genuine. There was only one successful suicide between 1835 and 1865, that of a man who had been in Haslar Asylum twice and who hanged himself with a handkerchief. A verdict of temporary insanity was passed on a man who, while on bail, had swallowed arsenic a few hours before appearing in front of the magistrates. Because he experienced no immediate ill-effects, he stood trial and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment, only to die within prison a few hours later. A similar verdict was passed on a sixteen year old girl, accused of robbing her master, who poisoned herself before entering prison.[15]

If a prisoner could not remove himself from confinement by death, suicide or insanity, there remained the possibility of an escape. This would not have been insuperable at one time, partly because of insufficient staffing.

Staffing

Edward Hunt had succeeded his father to the post of gaoler in 1816 at the age of thirty-five and had previously been, as a member of the Royal Navy, a prisoner of war in France for ten years. Although a daily inspection of the premises was not mandatory until 1839, Hunt was obliged by the prison rules to inspect every part of the gaol. It was while he was on leave that the Inspector found the shambles in the dayrooms, the one occasion when he passed adverse comments on the staff, reporting that the officers at the gate most imperfectly discharged their duties on the admission of improper articles. The reflection on Hunt is modified by the insufficiency of staff. At first he had one turnkey, Thomas Hill, who was described as 'very efficient, trustworthy and energetic . . . . as long as his physical powers remained unimpaired.'[16] In October 1839, James Driver was appointed as under-turnkey, not only to ensure better vigilance but to make a nightwatch possible. However, even though the gaoler and both turnkeys slept within the gaol, nearly two hundredweight of lead was stripped from the gaol roof one night in 1843. In 1848, the Justices were told that Hill was unable to carry out his duties because of age and John Astridge was appointed as second turnkey. The Town Council then recommended that Hill should not be dismissed – possibly because his pension would almost be equal to his pay – but the young and energetic Astridge be retained in place of fifty-eight year old Driver. The Justices indignantly referred to Driver's efficiency and both men were retained. When Driver resigned as Head Turnkey in 1849, Astridge stepped into this position, becoming Governor in 1854 with a staff of three turnkeys. There was no national salary scale for governors but at the time that the local police superintendant was earning £100 p.a., Hunt's salary was twice that amount. The salary for an assistant turnkey in 1849 was £70 p.a. and it was a sought after position, there being twenty-three applications for the vacancy.

After the 1823 Act required female prisoners to be superintended by a woman, Mrs. Hunt officially became the matron of the gaol, although prior to that date she had occasionally attended the female prisoners. When her health necessitated the appointment of an assistant matron



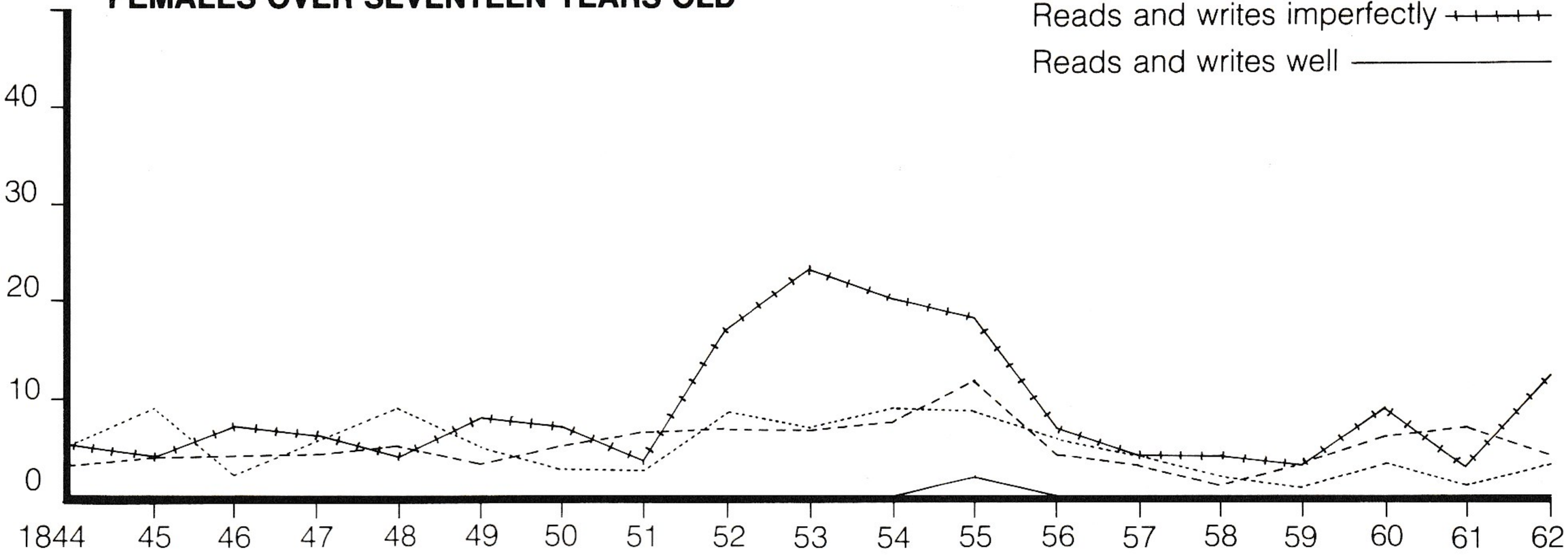
in 1844, a succession of women held the post until Mrs. Astridge became matron. It can be surmised that one reason for the rapid turnover in assistant matrons was the low salary. Apartments were provided in the gaol but Mrs. Hunt, who herself received £25 p.a. and later £40 p.a., stated that a single woman could not live on less than £32. 10*s*. 0*d*. p.a. £15 p.a. was paid to the first two under-matrons and, when controversy occurred during the appointment of a third, a member of the Town Council inferred that she could supplement her wages by taking the prisoners food, a suggestion met with laughter and an indignant repudiation by the Mayor.[17] It was believed that matrons, usually the wives of gaolers, were too refined to spend much time with the women in their care, and the security of the gaol in the earlier years left much to be desired where vigilance was concerned. When Hill was alone in the gaol, Hunt being away on other duties, the Justices avoided visiting the place, such was their feeling of insecurity because he was deaf and infirm.

Although when built the gaol was what was described by the Justices as in an unfrequented part of the town, its site was later surrounded by other buildings. The windows of some cells looked directly onto the street, there was no boundary wall and visiting hours were more liberal than in any other prison the Inspector was acquainted with. In the earlier years, anyone could apply for permission to view the gaol and in 1841 a phrenologist gave a demonstration of his skill among the prisoners assembled for this purpose. The gaoler was supposed to read every incoming and outgoing letter but this was circumvented. Letters and 'things' were smuggled in, thrown over the wall or pushed through the air holes of the gaol. Two men escaped prior to 1818 and possibly one in the late forties. Attempts were made but foiled by the turnkeys' observation. From 1849–1865, there were seven plots undertaken by men singly or in groups; in three cases bricks were removed from cell walls and one man climbed from the shed in the felons' yard onto the prison roof. Punishment for attempted escape varied between two days' solitary confinement, placing in irons or the dark cell. The other two forms of punishment were reduction of food, a diet of bread and water, whipping, and sometimes a combination of the two. Under the 1823 Act, gaolers were prohibited from imposing dietary punishments for more than a day although Justices could order it for a month. Solitary confinement was given mostly for insubordination, riotous behaviour or insufficient work performed, whereas the dark cell was reserved for repeated insubordination and assault. The average length of time spent in solitary confinement was three days, the longest being one month for assault on a turnkey. Punishment could be evaded if the prisoners expressed deep contrition, and on their visits the Justices exhorted those under punishment to behave. Repentance was required to obtain premature release; those who, for example, threatened to kick the door down being left for further reflection. Opinion of the efficacy of various punishments varied, most witnesses before a Parliamentary Committee agreeing that whipping had little effect upon adults. One Reading Justice had little time for dark cells but declared that 'the animal in every criminal . . . fails him when his food is reduced.'[18] If his opinion was shared by the prisoners at Portsmouth, for whom bread and water was the most frequent punishment, they could count themselves unfortunate.

Education and Religious Instruction

One of the early prison reformer's main aims had been the provision of religious instruction and the 1823 Act affirmed the desirability for the instruction of prisoners' reading and writing and for their participation in religious services. Under the 1839 Act a chaplain was to be appointed to each prison. In 1809, an order was passed for a chaplain to provide Divine Service at Portsmouth Gaol, but if ever one was appointed, his duties had been relieved by 1818, by students from a Gosport Academy. Their ministrations were short-lived and little effort was made to comply with the religious clauses of the 1832 Act. It had been intended to include a chapel in the 1831 extension of the gaol but this had not been carried out, and on the Inspector's first visit his primary recommendation was the conversion of the lumber or visitors rooms into a temporary chapel. This had been considered in 1836 but had been held too great a risk to security and it took the Inspector's stern reproof in 1840 to galvanise the Town Council into action. He wrote that not only was Portsmouth the only prison with which he was acquainted which, with a corresponding number of inmates, had no chapel or chaplain,

LITERACY OF PRISONERS SENTENCED BY PORTSMOUTH QUARTER SESSIONS 1844-62 FEMALES OVER SEVENTEEN YEARS OLD



but also that he knew of no prison averaging only half the number of prisoners of those at Portsmouth, which did not have a regularly retained chaplain. This unfortunate distinction was all the more singular as Portsmouth gaol came under the 1823 Act, and he declared that while it was of the utmost importance that a chapel was built immediately, there was no reason whatever why a chaplain should not be appointed in the meantime. He defined a chaplain's duties as including not only Divine Service, but visiting the wards, conversing with prisoners, aiding the sick, observing and examining those in solitary cells and attending at the library.

A Revd John Mitchell took the position at a salary of £100 p.a., the credit for this going, in the Inspector's opinion, to the mayor who had zealously exerted himself. He had reminded the Council that most prisoners were confined for correction and improvement rather than vengeance, although his feelings were not altogether reflected by the ratepayers, one of whom felt induced to complain to the *Hampshire Telegraph* in 1840:

> 'Amongst other nonsenses with which we are threatened under the pretence of reforming prisoners in gaol is the appointment of a chaplain.'

Mitchell was replaced in 1847 by the Revd H. Collingham, and the vacancy left by his resignation in 1849 by the Revd T. Roe. When he departed in 1854 to become chaplain to the Convict Dept at Bermuda, the replacement was the Revd A. Lowry. Roman Catholic priests were allowed to attend prisoners if they were asked for.

The mayor bore testimony to the Revd Mitchell's exertions in his office and said that several prisoners had asked to be allowed to receive spiritual instruction from him after the expiration of their sentences. This was before seclusion had been introduced for men or women; the chaplain at Liverpool prison had found that a few months in a separate cell rendered a prisoner 'strangely impressible' and that

> '. . . it is easy to induce a state of terror and anguish, and to give him a foretaste of hell, and it is nearly as easy . . . to comfort the quasi-penitent with the assurance of salvation, and the man will believe in his own "conversion" as thoroughly as his pastor does.'[19]

The two year incumbency of Collingham was not as satisfactory as this as he neglected to read prayers every morning, but with the appointment of Roe, the Inspector was able to report a great improvement in the performance of the chaplain's duties, the average time spent by him in the gaol being three hours daily. Every morning the prisoners were assembled for prayers and selected readings; Divine Service and sermons were given twice on Sundays and once on the days appointed. He catechised the juvenile prisoners five times a week, visited the sick and those under punishment every day, admonished the prisoners on entry and discharge and had the women brought before him for moral instruction. Roe was much concerned with juvenile prisoners, it being he who had recommended separate cells for them, and he carried on a form of preventative and after-care service. He visited the homes of discharged juveniles to enquire after their progress and advise parents on preventing other children from following the same path. He also catechised in four schools for the poor and reminded the master of a Landport school, from which a large number of offenders came, about frequently instructing his charges in the eighth commandment. Roe attributed the crimes of the children mostly to their environment, observing that some had parents of wicked and abandoned character or lived in localities in which it was impossible to bring children up properly. How much lasting impression the chaplains had is open to doubt as Roe admitted that while many prisoners left with 'excellent sentiments' he had no opportunity to see if these lasted as they usually left home on discharge. The statement by an ex-prisoner's wife that her husband was quite a reformed character and attended church three times a day can be compared with the opinion that prison chaplains were regarded as infinitely gullible.

Until the eighties, at national level every third prisoner was illiterate and it was felt that advantage could be taken of the prisoners' incarceration to instil some basic learning, but little serious effort was made under local government. In 1878 there were only 50 schoolmasters in the 113 prisons. Under the 1821 rules at Portsmouth, schools were to be immediately established under the superintendence of

the gaoler who would select from the prisoners those capable of teaching and these would be paid 3*d.* a week. Although it can be seen from the graph that many prisoners would have benefited and that there was just a sufficient number of well educated to make the proposition viable, there was no indication that it was executed. In 1849, the Secretary of State recommended that a schoolmaster and schoolmistress be added to the gaol, appointments that would have cost the borough £200. The matter was taken into consideration by the Justices and ended there. During his incumbency, the Revd Mitchell taught the prisoners to read, and Roe's sister instructed the female prisoners twice weekly. In 1856, the time of Lowry's appointment, of the 122 gaols in England only nine had no school; Portsmouth is recorded as having one with a solitary pupil who was probably taught in his cell.[20]

Discharged Prisoners

That it was only sensible and humane to help a discharged prisoner return to his own parish had long been recognised and the Act of 1823 provided that Justices could direct charities for this purpose or provide money for those whose sentence had been shortened by good conduct. There is strong evidence to suggest that until the middle thirties, fees on admission were still charged but that the proportion paid to the Town Clerk was refunded to the prisoners upon discharge.[21] However, in 1839 the Inspector was told that relief from Borough Funds was very rarely given as it had been found that, when donated, it was spent in the town. When discharged prisoners applied for assistance, they were sent to the Relieving Officer who gave them a night's lodging and food. Twenty years later, it was discovered that prisoners were discharged so late in the day that they could not reach home or provide themselves with shelter for the night, and to the end of 1865 there was no society for aiding discharged prisoners. They must often have found themselves in the position described:

> 'All respectable men reject him . . . He is compelled by the cravings of nature to take refuge among the hordes of thieves; they receive him with open arms, supply his immediate necessities and advance him money on account to be repaid by the product of his future depredations.'[22]

The Justices may have felt, like the Inspector, that institutes for after care, like opportunities for education, for profit from productive labour and assured food and shelter, would encourage poor labourers to feel that crime gave what honest industry could not.

The Justices' view that imprisonment should be used as a deterrent rather than reformation concurred with the increasingly punitive attitude shown by the Government after the apparent failure of the 1823 Act. This trend culminated in the 1865 Prison Act which ordered the nationwide adoption of the Separate System together with 'hard labour, hard fare and a hard bed.' To secure uniformity it made a code of rules mandatory, thus depriving the local authorities of their independence over administration of gaols. Twelve years later, a further Act transferred this responsibility to the Secretary of State, so making prisons the only institutions over which local authorities had no control. The period that followed was one of such regimented severity that criticism of its repressiveness culminated in the Prison Act of 1898 which anticipated the system in existence today.

Because the old gaol in Penny Street had become too small and outmoded, a new prison was opened at Kingston in 1879. It had, as well as fifty separate cells for females and 104 separate cells for males, Governor's quarters, a laundry, a bakehouse, a workshop, eight punishment cells, three reception cells, eight bathrooms, infirmary, a fumigating closet, storage for both clothing and food, lying-in room, kitchen and chapel, and was designed on a three-wing arrangement.[23] A new era in penal punishment in Portsmouth had begun.

NOTE ON THE AUTHOR

Pat Thompson has lived in Hampshire since 1964. It was at Portsmouth College of Education, where she qualified as a teacher in 1972, that she became interested in archives and the Borough gaol. In recent years researching into the history of Clanfield where she lives with her husband and daughter, she is at present studying for a degree with the Open University. She hopes later to investigate further into the Victorian penal system and into miscarriages of justice.

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23 PCRO, 114A/1/2/1/1, Plan of Kingston Gaol (not normally available).

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